NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

Mr. CLAY AND THE PRESIDENCY.

In the subjoined brief and simple paragraphs of a letter from this eminent Statesman which has been shown us, there is, no doubt, enough to open to us a view into the calmer recesses of that great and sincere mind, as freely disclosed-because without (we know) the smallest idea of publicityto the trusted friend to whom he writes, and who thinks this little extract is of a character to give pleasure to the many of all parties who look upon Mr. CLAY as

Clarum et venerabile nomen, Et multum qui profuit civitati no

We must, to do justice, add that the letter itself is one to a private person and man of business only, and that the extract embraces all that he says about politics, in reply to a few remarks on that subject, introduced into a letter of business. The character of these remarks is such as may be easily inferred from the answering allusions. The closing one refers to the interest in the event, for his sake, which his correspondent has expressed. The date is of the 18th instant.

It is certainly pleasant to be permitted thus to peep, as it were, into the unstudied confidence of such a man, and find all there so worthy of him, of the great cause which he has invincibly upheld, and so firmly fixed in that high feeling of duty which has been the leading and constant idea of Mr. CLAY's public life.

EXTRACT FROM THE LETTER OF MR. CLAY.

"Like yourself, I am unable to anticipate the results of " either of the two great Conventions now nigh at hand; and " from all I hear, it is equally difficult at Washington to form " a correct opinion. I learn that great heat and excitement " exist among the members of Congress.

"I performed a reluctant duty in acquiescing in the sub " mission of my name to the consideration of the Philadel-" phia Convention. Whatever the issue may be, I have " thereby secured myself against all responsibility and all just " reproaches, and I shall be content."

A LETTER FROM MR. BENTON.

FROM THE NEW YORK EVENING POST.

MR. BENTON ON THE NEW TEST. -In a letter written fear ago, Mr. Benton exposed the danger of the new test of attachment to the extension of slavery, which was then just beginning to be mentioned, but which has since been boldly and arrogantly imposed, not only in the case of candidates for office in the General Government, but in the case of delegates to the National Convention of the Democratic party. The language in which he spoke of this test does credit both to his sense of justice and to his foresight. He said: "The can be made to govern that election, I shall consider the danger consummated, and that there would so be an end. not only of the Democratic party, but of parties founded upon principle, and finally of the Union itself."

We give the entire letter, which is as perfectly applicable

ST. Louis, May 7, 1847. DEAR SIR : I take the first moment of leisure after my arrival at this place to answer your kind communication of the 13th of January, and to let you know how much I was pained at seeing the proceedings of the most respectable meeting of which you were chairman. It was precisely to forestall and prevent such manifestations in my favor that I spoke to the point of the next Presidency in my speech at Boonville, in the summer of 1844; and all the sentunents which I then ex-pressed remain in full force now, strengthened and confirmed all that has since happened. I then brought forward the glaring fact that, in about fifty years existence of this Federal Government, the Democracy of the North had given but one President to the Union, and that one but for a single term and this (of late) from a Southern opposition to Northern men. And I then took it on myself to say that this course of things would have to be changed, otherwise there would be an end to the Democratic party, or any other party founded on political principles, and expressed my gratification that Mr. Polk's early and voluntary self-denial had cleared the way for a Northern Democratic candidate in 1848.

support of the Presidency. The firebrand resolutions introtheir practicable application to Oregon, (by which we lost the Oregon bill, and leave the people of that Territory a year longer without law or governm nent,) reveal this scheme and present a new test on the slave question which no Northern man can stand, and which, if adopted by the South, must put an end to all future Democracy. Heretofore we, the slaveholding States, have stood together on two points—defence and compromise—the defence of property and institu-tions, and the compromise of the laws and of the constitution: and on these two points the great majority of the North, of

both political parties, have been able to stand with us.

But now a new position is to be taken—one on which no Northern man can stand. Propagandism is now the doctrine of a political sect which assumes to be the standard bearers of all the slaveholding States; and to plant a slavery by-law in those who appeal to us for aid. Sir, we have heard but one full credit for his frankness upon this subject. He told us, in all the Territories of the United States—even the most remote and hyperborean; even Oregon itself, and against the will of gravations as self-interest dictates. Are these Indians at war, and that we were now engaged in hostilities with Mexico in consequence of the act of annexation. The same opinion its inhabitants—becomes the design and attempt! The words of the resolutions, and the speeches in their favor, and their practicable application of the Oregon bill, all prove this, and show that the new doctrine is intended to be made a new po-litical test, to be applied to all Presidential candidates in time inical test, to be applied to all Presidential candidates in time to come; and, like all new tests, intended to supersede all former ones, and to constitute the sole criterion for the trial of candidates. Now, every body must see that, if this new test shall be adopted by the slaveholding States, there is an end to all political support of Northern men in these States ; that the present organization of parties must be broken up, and a new party formed, bounded by geographical lines, and resting on the sole principle of slavery propagandism. I am not pre-pared for such a state of parties, nor for the effect which it would have upon the harmony and stability of our Federal

I see great danger in this new move, and feel the necessity of meeting it at once. In fact, we must meet it at once, or not at all; for it is pressed upon us now, and will conquer us if we do not conquer it. The Presidential election of 1848 is the crisis, and, if the new test can be made to govern that election, I shall consider the danger consummated; and that there must soon be an end not only of the Democratic party. parties founded upon principle, and eventually an end of the Union itself. Instead, theo, of indulging a personal or local feeling in favor of particular candidates, let us (the Denocratic party) look to what the good of the Union and of the party requires, and wait to receive a candidate from that sec-tion of the Union which has given but one Democratic President in near sixty years, and that one but for a single term, and which is now threatened, so far as Southern voters are concerned, with permanent exclusion from the Presidential

This, my dear sir, is my plain and settled answer to your kind communication, and I wish you to make it known to the members of the meeting of which you were chairman, among whom I see the names of many old friends, and recognise the voice of that powerful county which has stood by me in every trial, from my first Senatorial election in 1820 to my fifth and last in 1844, and to which I owe many thanks, which it is my intention to make in person during the course of the coming

Respectfully, sir, your friend and fellow-citize THOMAS H. BENTON. To WADE M. JACKSON, Howard county.

VISITERS TO THE MILITARY ACADEMY.

The following are the names of the gentlemen invited to attend the examination of the Cadets of the Military Academy, to commence on Monday, the 5th of June :

- 1. Hon. William Prescott, of Maine. Hon. Dutee J. Pearce, of Rhode Island. Major Gen. J. McDaniels, of Vermont. Col. Robert Hamilton, of New Jersey. Dr. H. F. Askew, of Delaware.
- Dr. H. F. Askew, of Delaware,
 Col. George W. Wilson, of Virginia.
 Col. James Gadsden, of South Carolin
 Patterson C. Lander, of Kentucky,
 Dr. J. G. M. Ramsay, of Tennessee,
 Professor W. C. Larabee, of Indiana,
 Isaac N. Morris, Esq., of Illinois.
 Gen. James Yell, of Arkansas.
 Col. Attendar, H. Radfield, of 2 Gat.

Col. Alexander H. Redfield, of Michigan. 14. Col. A. W. Doniphan, of Missouri. 15. Dr. Ashbell Smith, of Texas.

SPEECH OF MR. DAVIS, OF MASSACHUSETTS. On the Proposed Occupation of Yucatan.

IN SENATE, MAY 11, 1848. The Senate resumed, as in Committee of the whole, the consideration of the bill to enable the President of the United

States to take temporary military occupation of Yucatan. Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts, said : In the few remarks which I propose to make upon this subject, I shall not attempt to confine myself to the amendment, which alone is appropriately under discussion, or to discriminate between the ame ment and the bill, but rather to the general question which is presented for the consideration of the Senate. Some time ago, sir, we were admonished that a message would be sent in by the Executive, demanding our immediate attention-a message emergent in its character, relating to a matter, as was generally understood in the Senate, which admitted of no de-lay. The message came here, sir, accompanied by certain documents; and thereon a bill was reported, the title of which you have just read; a bill, sir, proposing to take temporary military occupation of the State of Yucatan, and proposing not to send our assistance, as many suppose, to a country dis-tressed and demanding aid from our humanity to save the in habitants from extermination; not to send them troops to assist in maintaining their jurisdiction over their territory, and thus establishing their authority, but to take possession in our own name, and maintain it in our own right, by establishing a government of our own. It is not, therefore, a mere question of humanity, but one of appropriation to our own use and therefore involves considerations of very grave character, and for one I am greatly obliged to the honorable Senator from South Carolina, who so promptly met this subject at the outset, and warned the public of its importance. It comes here, sir, assuming, as a pretext, the claims of humanity. That was the principal ground upon which at first it was placed. There has been information repeatedly demanded since upon the subject, and we have, I believe, no less than three instalments of documents and messages now in print which have been furnished by the Executive, which are now lying on my table, furnishing information relative to this subject; and, sir, upon what basis does the matter stand at this moment? If I may be pe mitted to express an opinion, with all due respect to gentlemen who take contrary positions, I would say that all grounds of humanity are substantially abandoned, and that we grounds of humanity are substantially abandoned, and that we are called on now to act upon a question of expediency. It seems to me, sir, to have assumed that shape and form, and for one I am greatly obliged to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations for his frankness. He did not, in the course of his remarks, omit to urge our duty on the score of humanity; still he chiefly discussed the higher and more important bearing of the question—the expediency of acquiring the territory for our own use. The chairman of the Com-mittee on Military Affairs, the distinguished Senator from Michigan, who occupied our attention through the day yesterday, employed the greater portion of his time in laboring to prove that it is not only expedient but our duty to take pos-session, in some way or by some means, which he does not very satisfactorily explain, of the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico; and why is this necessary or expedient? Because, argued the gentleman, it is for the interest of this country so to do. We have, he urged, a great commerce passing through this gulf which may be inturrupted by others if they possess the adjacent country, and therefore we ought, for our own security, to hold the whole coast. That is the orgument, sir, stripped of all plausibility; this is the object to be attained, his sense of justice and to his foresight. He said: "The and we are to begin by making Yucatan our own. Without Presidential election of 1848 is the crisis, and if the new test at present dwelling longer upon this aspect of the case, it is enough for me here to say that the question has now become a very important one. It has become one that demands the

First, then, sir, it is desirable to understand why it is that the Yucatanese apply to us for aid and an armed force; and yesterday:

MR. BENTON'S LETTER

To the Chairman of the Howard county Convention which nominated him for the Presidency.

To the Chairman of the Presidency.

MR. BENTON'S LETTER

To the Chairman of the Howard county Convention which nominated him for the Presidency. ment of Yucatan—a Government that sends here the repre-sentation that she has no power to hold in subjection the opposition existing against it; and is incapable even of sur porting itself against that opposition; and that the force arrayed against it is so irresistible in its character that unless assistance s extended to them in order to drive it back, it will eventuall overwhelm the Government, if it does not exterminate the white race altogether. That is the substance of the representation made on this subject. That, according to the ment of the commissioner, is the condition of the party which applies to us for assistance. Sir, it is said to be a contest beween races—castes of men. I deny this, Mr. President. If t be meant, when that assertion is made, that there is an inprrection in which the whole Indian or indigenous race of Yucatan are arrayed against the white population, I affirm that the contents of the documents upon our table justify no own Government, Mr. McKenney, or the navy, in his despatch points out the extent of this rebellion—the portion of the country in which it has and does rage, and the number of lar to those now before us, but in others dissimilar; though to my own satisfaction, but gentlemen all around me estimate dent jurisdiction over the territory which she had conquered. it to be greater. Of these five or six hundred thousand Indians, then, only some one hundred and twenty thousand are engaged in an insurrection or civil war. The remainder are passive and obedient to all existing law. I deny then, sir, that this is a war between the races waged generally in Yucatian. It embraces only an inconsiderable portion of the indigenous or Indian race, and is not a general rising to exterminate the whites. These despatches emphatically confirm this view. This same officer, (Mr. McKenney,) as well as others, inform us that the mixed race, partly Spanish, partly Indian, inform us that the mixed race, partly Spanish, partly Indian, have their expressions. A war, however, existed between her and the parent country, notwithstanding her assumed independence; and it was said, that if we should also assume the war, because Mexico had never surrendered or abandoned her region to subject the rebellious State to her duty. That was serious consequences. I can see no difference whatever, The Senator from Michigan dew a very flattering picture of our future prosperity. He spoke of the person being now pleased to say in his first annual message, delivered in December after his imanguration, that the annexation of Texas was a bloodless victory and a peaceful achievement, yet every body knows and sees at this moment this country is involved would grow out of that vast industrial people. This he offerness was a beautiful press forward by any means of the provided of the provided of maintaining their possessions there, which is just as good a grant, for all practical purposes, as that if we should also assume the war as serious consequences. I can see no difference whatever. The Senator from Michigan day to exterminate the provide and treasure provided and treasure provided or abandoned her as serious consequences. I can see no difference whatever. The Senator from Michigan day the sovereignty itself, and any interference brings with it just as good a grant, for all practical purposes, as that if we should

gravest consideration of this Government, and may involve

onsequences of a very alarming character.

as has been suggested, for the love of blood, or from a desire consequence of the act of annexation. The same opinion to exterminate their white associates, or is it because they have was expressed by some of the distinguished members on the been wronged, and are now seeking redress by force of arms? the race from time immemorial, but I may state their recent

This opinion has been thus openly avowed as a fact. And Yucatan by the Mexican Government, were expelled from the borders of that province. Sir, they may be ferocious, but if the evidence is reliable they are a brave and fearless people. In consequence of the aid thus furnished them by the Ludians state of war with the States of Mexico, caused by her secession against their invaders, the Government of Yucatan promised them to remit the capitation tax—an odious, oppressive exact between Yucatan and the States of Mexico, but I do say that them to remit the capitation tax—an odious, oppressive exaction. Their then Governor, Mendez, who, by one of their production in the Governor of the situation, refused to abide by the terms of his own agreement. He gave orders to have the tax collected, though he had been paid with blood for the remission: a refusal followed, and the situation of the remission: a refusal followed, and the situation of the remission: a refusal followed, and the situation of the remission: a refusal followed, and the situation of the remission: a refusal followed, and the situation of the remission: a refusal followed, and the situation of the remission: a refusal followed of the remission of the consequence was, as Lieut. Herndon, of the navy states, some of the Indians were butchered. That is the way, sir, the war began—in bad faith and cruel murder by Men-fixed purpose in herself. After the commencement of the war. the war began—in bad faith and cruel murder by Men-faced purpose in herself. After the commencement of the war, dez and his party. The Government refused to fulfil their although some difficulties existed between Mexico and Yucasolemn arrangement entered into with this humble but brave tan, she voluntarily bowed her neck and gave in her adhesio people, refusing the privilege which they had purchased with to Santa Anna, the Dictator, and co-operated with him, while their blood, and the result is, what might be anticipated from such treachery, a civil war. That, sir, I understand to be the

such treachery, a civil war. That, sir, I understand to be the present condition of these races—the origin of the war.

We find, sir, that these Yucatanese, who come here soliciting our assistance, are represented in the despatches not only as the weaker party, but as a pusillanimous miserable people, utterly incapable of defending or protecting themselves, proof of which will be found in the letter of Commodore Perry.

Lieut. Mason, who has associated with them freely, calls them a cowardly race, and another of our officers expresses it as a cowardly race, and another of our officers expresses it as his opinion that they are incapable of making any substantial States from recognising her as an independent State. "he defence against the resolute force arrayed against them. At page 17 of the same despatch it is said that, after having Mexico, notwithstanding her professions of neutrality, and is

bers greatly exceed those of the Spanish population. They constitue the principal portion of the inhabitants of that cuntry. Ve are asked, then, sir, to interfere between these two races, but acknowledged citizens of the State, to establish the power and authority of those of Spanish descent, amouning to some 50,000, and to bring into subjection the aborigina inhabitans as well as the mixed race, amounting to some 600,00). Mr. President, is the class of Indians referred to, what they are represented to be by the commissioner and it this deate, savages ' Do they deserve to be placed amon the races of barbarians ' It is a fact that, when the constitu tion of Yucatan was formed years ago, these people were admitted to all the rights of citizenship, and that they have exercised these rights as fully and as unqualifiedly from that period to the present as any other of the inhabitants of that State. This fact is stated in various places, upon the authority of many individuals, and among them the commissioner. Fee informs us that they were not only admitted to all the righs and privileges of citizenship, but have held many offices in the State, and have filled many political stations of honor and responsibility. I think, too, it must be within the recollection of many gentlemen that one of this race of Indians, I knot whether a Yucatanese, represented the Mexican Govern ment in a diplomatic station here. By what right, then, do you call this whole people a race of savages? By what right do you signatize them as uncivilized degraded savages? The larger portion of them are probably in a comparatively de graded condition; but they have had the benefit of an inte course wih civilized society for some three hundred years, an it is idle to say that they have not profited by it. I do not ur derstand them to be a set of nomadic tribes, but, in the main a people who have fixed habitations, live by cultivation of the

a people who have fixed habitations, live by cultivation of the soil, or are collected in villages, towns, and cities, the same as other insubitants of that country. I do not suppose this description of their way of living is applicable to all, but it is to a portion of them, and a large one, too.

Now, sir, what are we asked to do? Why, to take milters countries of this country. explained and developed the meaning of this term a little n the amendment which he offered. We are to take and keep possession of the country until the weaker portion of the po-ple are capable of protecting themselves, or the Mexican Giv-ernment is able to render them suitable protection. Now if these one hundred and twenty thousand Indians, including men, women, and children, are sufficient to expel the Mexican people from the country, and to cause them to send a representative here to beg our assistance, how long, allowing we take possession, shall we have to wait for this people to grow sufficiently strong to take care of themselves? If these savage people have expelled Mexican armies—one of five thousand, and another of eleven thousand, at different times from the country—how long shall we have to keep possession of Yucatan before Mexico herself would be able to afford the requisite protection? protection? When, I ask, sir, in view of these circumstances, is this temporary occupation to end? Mr. President, while we are playing upon the word "temporary," do we not mean, in reality, a permanency, a continuous occupation of the territory? The facts and circumstances of the case justify us in this interpretation. Who is to decide upon the period when they will be able to take care of themselves? This question, in my opinion, is easily answered. The posion that comes here for aid do not mean to take care of themselves. The boon they chiefly desire, as every gentleman wil learn by reading the despatches relating to this matter, is, not protec-tion against the Indian race so much as against the Mexican States. They are most anxious to obtain at our hands the assistance requisite to repel aggression from the United Mexican States, because of the rebellion they have entered into and the course they have pursued, for which they will se, as they fear, visited with retributive vengeance by the remining con-federated States. The United Mexicans will not a much protect them as hold them accountable for treasonable desertion and this is the last thing they desire, as I shall soon show by their attempts to frustrate the pending treaty. They want to be protected against these States, instead of locking for protection from them. And this is not a matter of inference from the evidence, but one of direct avowal in the most unequivo-

cal language.

Now, Mr. President, I do not propose to dwell on or reaon upon these facts, for they speak a language plain, strong, and conclusive in its character, needing no sid from argument. It is enough to state the plain history in its simplest form, to show at once the issue which is raised. Merico is chiefly feared, and the only remedy for this is, permanent occupation. We do not propose to lend aid to another Power, but to take possession, or, in one word, to annex. I am greatly obliged to the Senator from Michigan, who, I think, greatly obliged to the Senator from Michigan, who, I think, in the elaborate argument which we listened to yeserday, devoted himself mainly to the question which is really to be settled. It is in fact a question of annexation, and we are to decide whether we will assume a permanent, lasting jurisdiction over the country, and take the responsibility which will come with it. That is the real inquiry. Sir, I cannot avoid, in looking over these papers, in listening to the arguments of confidence and this confidence is the real inquiry. inform us that the mixed race, partly Spanish, partly Indian, have their sympathies and feelings upon the question in dispute, which are decidedly with the Indians.

I might notice, sir, another fact stated by one of our own so many words, the other day, that it did bring war with it;

other side of the chamber, in a debate which took place at the

we are sten assured by the evidence before us that their num-bers greatly exceed those of the Spanish population. They constitute the principal state of the countries the produced a calamitous war which is not yet ended, nor is it at all certain when it will be: a war that is wasting the valuable lives of our citizens, and loading us with an accumula tion of debt which will oppress us for many years. It is too manifest to admit of doubt, that if under existing circumstances we enter Yucatan to settle domestic quarrels, and for the purpose of establishing our authority there, we shall be in the greatest danger of interrupting the negotiations now going

on and of perpetuating the war.

But I have thus far followed out chiefly the views of the who profess to be influenced by humanity There are, how-ever, other reasons alleged for the adoption of this measure which throw all considerations of humanity into the shade. Indeed I cannot help thinking that humanity is already sub-stantially laid out of the question, and we are meditating in

its stead an ambitious aggressive policy. Humanity, I lear, has become a mere pretext to cover other designs.

The Senator from Michigan hardly condescended to notice the argument of humanity, but placed himself on other, and, the argument of numanity, but piaces in my opinion, more slarming and dangerous ground. What did he undertake to establish in an elaborate speech as the doctrine which angelt to prevail in this country? Why, that we trine which ought to prevail in this country? Why, that we shall possess ourselves of the whole coast along the Gulf of Mexico. I do not know that he advised to direct interference by violence, but, if I did not misunderstand him altogether, he thought it wise and expedient that the policy of this country should be directed to that contingency with great earnestness. It may be very convenient for this country to possess the Gulf of Mexico, and we may have the greater security to our borders as the result. A desirable object, truly. But it is worthy of the consideration of the Senate whether it is expedient to compromit the peace of this country and wade through blood and desolation to the attainment of such an object. Whether, in a word, it is desirable to provoke hos-tilities with countries capable of doing us much greater mis-

chief than Mexico. I was not, Mr. President, quite able to see the force or justice in the reasoning adopted by the Senator from Michigan. He sketched at much length the geographical position of Mexico, also of Cuba, and the breadth of the channels leading into and out of the Gulf, and enjoyed by the commerce and navi-gation of the world. He proceeded to extend his ideas, sir, gation of the world. He proceeded to extend his ideas, sir, in proportion to the extent of his subject, shadowing forth views of our glory, of our brilliant destiny, and of the necessity which existed in order to the continuance of that glory and prosperity of taking possession of the gulf coast to make room for the trade and population of this country. Did he go far enough, sir ? If the honorable gentleman could acquire all he sims to possess, embracing the coast of the entire Gulf together with Cuba, would his object be accomplished? Would commerce and navigation then be out of the reach of English power? Look at the track of trade and you will find that the West India and Bahama islands are all in the way to your power? Look at the track of trade and you will find that the West India and Bahama Islands are all in the way to your primary ownership. There is as much and more necessity for possessing them as for possessing either of the other points alluded to. In one channel, the great highway of our trade, and the points alluded to the points alluded to the points alluded to the points alluded to the points are of annovance, good harbors alluded to. In one channel, the great highway of our trade, lie the Bahamas, with every means of annoyance, good harbors and abundant resources, and in the other, Jamacia, equally potential, and as controlling from position as Malta is in the Mediterranean. What will he do with another difficulty that exists? He proposes to possess himself of Yucatan. Very well, where is Belize, and who possesses it? This colony lies in the limits of Yucatan, and is possessed by the English, not as maruders, as has been thrown out, but under lawful title. They have undoubted possession of that country, and that They have undoubted possession of that country, and that possession is sanctioned by all the solemnities of a treaty of Who that has been attentive to the history commerce and navigation does not know that the English have had establishments upon the waters of the Bay of Honduras for centuries? For a period of eighty years they held jurisdiction over a considerable portion of the Mosquito coast. At the time of the treaty of 1783, which established the independence of this country, in the general settlement made, not only between Great Britain and the United States, but between Great Britain, Spain, and France, a treaty was agreed upon between Spain and Great Britain, in which a provision was inserted authorizing England to occupy and enjoy forever this country called Belize for the purpose of cutting logwood. That right they have enjoyed until the present time. When my learned friend proposes to dispossess the Yucatanese of their country and to annex it to the United States, because the safety of our trade demands it, I desire to know whether he means to annex Belize, and if this is intended by the bill? Mr. WESTCOTT. The honorable Segator from Massachusetts misunderstands that treaty if he supposes it grants to Great Britain any of the sovereignty of the country. It merely

grants her the right of cutting logwood.

Mr. DAVIS. I am under no misapprehension with regard to that treaty. I stated that its terms were such as to authorize the English to reside there and cut logwood-a grant of the right of possession made to them forever without limitation.

They were authorized to build towns and occupy exclusively this territory designated in the treaty; but, while authorized ments of gentlemen and their conclusions, with the probable consequences, calling to mind some of the history of this Government. It is a recent matter that Texas was introduced maintaining a navy as large as they please, and anchoring it in the Belize, or otherwise using the waters for its conveni-ence. There is nothing in the treaty which restrains Great Britain from thus using the ports, or employing them for any purposes of navigation. The Belize has the best harbors in the whole country. If, then, we do not annex it, the Bahamas, on political principles, and expressed my gratification that Mr. Polic carry and voluntary self-denial had cleared the way for a Northern Democratic carry and voluntary self-denial had cleared the way for a Northern Democratic candidate in 1845.

These were my sentiments now, and are not to be abandoned at the coming election, when I see a new scheme developed from the South for the permanent exclusion of all Northern ment from Southern in the principles, and expressed my gratification that Mr. the policy and an utter disregard of the process of navigation. The Belize has the best hatbors in the Policy, and an utter disregard of the process of navigation. The Belize has the best hatbors in the policy, to interfere at the population small ages and sexes, at the population of the president, we not only have the runting of the process of navigation. The Belize has the best hatbors in the others country has the population small ages and sexes, at the popul

pretation which nobody but ourselves can acquiesce in, to sess ourselves of this portion of the country, first to make om for our growth, and, second, for fear of being interupted in our trade and commerce by some other trading or umbitions Power. I think the Senator from Michigan has mistaken the true design and popular spirit of this Governpent entirely. I speak of what it ought to be, sir, and with reference to the elements of which it is composed. responsible Government, ruling under the authority of the coople of the country. They appoint their own agents or delegates to Congress, and invest whomsoever they think roper with a practical exercise of the constitutional proviproper with a practical exercise of the constitutional provisions for legislation. Now, sir, such a Government as the substitution is supreme, demands a state of peace. A sagacious, enlightened, comprehensive public mind can alone be its only safe guide, as it is the soul of public liberty, alone be its only safe guide, as it is the soul of public interty, its breath, its vitality, and this soul must be nursed in the lap of peace. It is not a Government that is to flourish under the old idea of the monarchical and despotic States of Europe, that true fame consists in a long and brilliant history of milithat true fame consists in a long and brilliant history of military achievements. They spread their principles, both political and religious, by the sword, literally living and dying by it. But, sir, what is such propagandism worth? What will it come to? We may, by unparalleled bravery and skill, raise our flag in foreign countries, and, like the Romans, establish what we call free governments, but all seed thus sown by violence and bloodshed, will, I fear, fail to produce the peaceful fruits of public liberty.

I would ask, Mr. President, if it is not infinitely better to rely for success upon the convictions of men, were the dis

rely for success upon the convictions of men, upon the dis-emination of just and equitable principles, upon the doctrines of peace, upon the practical fulfilment of the doctrines of equal of peace, upon the practical fulfilment of the doctrices of equal ights and equal privileges? These are not the doctrices of the bayonet, sir. You may carry the name of the republic to South America, you may plant your standard entirely around the Gulf of Mexico, you may hold through your great power possession of Yucatan, you may assert your authority to Cubut what have you gained when you have done all this? If you have not carried free principles there, and respected in others those rights which we demand for ourselves, of what the spinor that they are imagable of making any substanted, against and the first fines are approximated to the spin of the first fines are approximated to the spin of all the spin of all the spin of a size of the spin of the spin of a size of the spin of the vail are all your efforts-all your achievements? None at

to a family of States where such principles find root and grow to maturity. My word for it, air, this is the way to conquer nations, and vastly more effective than the bayonet. What has England done in the six hundred years she has held possession of Ireland to harmonize and reconcile the people? Has she conquered and subdued their free spirit? Has she reconciled them to their condition? Is Ireland not hostile and rebellious to her authority at this day? Done the matter a step further. We are officially informed that Spain is already on the ground with three ships of war, and has furnished a quantity of arms and ammunition to these people pursuant to their request. What will she expect in return? Does she demand the sovereignty? She has complied with the request made to her, and her good offices and acts of interference have been very acceptable to these people. But yesterday (I speak it on the authority of the matter a step further. We are officially informed that Spain is already on the ground with three ships of war, and has furnished a quantity of arms and ammunition to these people with the request made to her, and her good offices and acts of interference have been very acceptable to these people. But yesterday (I speak it on the authority of the second matter a step further. We are officially informed that Spain is already on the ground with three ships of war, and has furnished a quantity of arms and ammunition to these people pursuant to their request. What will she expect in return? Does she demand the sovereignty? She has complete with the request made to her, and her good offices and acts of interference have been very acceptable to these people. But yesterday (I speak it on the authority of the second matter a step further. ber that she was subjugated by conquest, and feel the degra-dation now? Will Poland forget, even it her condition is or should be improved, to feel that she is the victim of ambition?

attempts to engraft upon us the feudal notion, the ancient idea, that power is to be obtained and principles propagated by force of arms, by the shedding of blood. That idea, sir, does not belong to our institutions; it does not belong to a generous, but to a selfish spirit. It does not belong to freedom of conscience, or to a philanthropy which aims to elevate and improve mankind, and we ought to repudiate it. Give and improve mankind, and we ought to repudiate it. Give us peace, Mr. President, so that men may pause, reflect, and examine into their rights, and consider the means by which they are to be maintained, and the methods by which the grievous burdens which have been loaded upon them by wars and by an unnatural social organization, may be mitigated or totally removed. It has already been demonstrated, sir, that all you need to do, is to let the human mind become acquainted with its own condition and high destiny. What has already taken place in many parts of Europe will be repeated elsewhere. We beheld there but recently the arms fall from the hands of the soldier, the sword from the hands of the offihe hands of the soldier, the sword from the hands of the officer, because the people have been wise enough to see where their common prosperity lies; and that the means by which to secure it are not to be found in arms or the shedding of each secure it are not to be found in arms or the shedding of each other's blood. Never was there a greater mistake made than when this country took that attitude. Gentlemen are congratulating themselves on our increasing power and glory, the result of the bravery of our citizens. Who, sir, ever doubted the valor and courage of our citizens in a cause which demands patrietic sacrifice? In such a cause it is not too much to say that they are invincible. They are always strong when they act from convictions of right; but whatever success may attend us in prosecuting wars of conquest, the result will as certainly ruin us as it did Rome.

Sir, there is another difficulty which seems to trouble the minds of many gentlemen. England, say they, is ambitious:

minds of many gentlemen. England, say they, is ambitious: England is strong and powerful; England is for clustering together nations and establishing in them her power and her principles. I shall do no more than justice to my own feel-ings when I say that I am often pained in reflecting upon I am not unmindful of her aggressions, and of the pretexts by which she has often possessed herself of the territory of others, nor of the manner in which she has demonstrated her power when she has obtained possession. All this is too obvious to admit of any doubt or mistake. When she is about to commit an aggression, what does she do? She sets up some plausible pretext, claims she has been wronged some way or other, and thus she justifies not only the infliction of ounishment, but conquests which she makes perpetual. She begins just as we are preparing to begin with Yucatan, by selping the weaker party. Rome did that, sir, and it was a to us, whether they will or not, would we be satisfied with assumption that she too has a right to trade in sov against our will, nor do we admit that others have the right to decide questions for us and to compel our acquiescence. Sir, the great principle of safety every where is non-intervention. the great principle of safety every where is non-intervention. The great and fundamental principle which lies at the very root of public liberty, is the right of a people to judge for themselves and maintain such institutions as they please and in the way they please, provided they do not interfere wrongin the way they please, provided they do not interfere without fully with others. They may appear absurd to us, but if they find happiness in maintaining them, no means of violence employed to demonstrate such an error can be justified. It is a privilege of the free to act from conviction, but to force opinions or views of policy upon others is a violation of the first principles of freedom. It is said, Mr. President, that there is danger if we do not take possession of Yucatan, that another country will. Who is to do it? England it is said—ambitious England—and we are to seize it for fear she will take possession. Mr. President, let us proceed in such a matter with deliberation, and act upon evidence. Englanding that have done it long ago if she had desired it. There are, in the documents which are upon this table, however, some statements which it is affirmed should be considered as constitutions which it is affirmed should be considered as constitutions.

See clusive proofs of a purpose on the part of Great Britain to indulge in this scheme of aggrandizement. I find in these papers no proof whatever that the English Government, by any act, movement, or claim, have set up any pretension to Yucatan. These despatches warrant no such conclusion. Her catan. These despatches warrant no such conclusion. Her he has very much changed his own opinion since the citizens at the Belize trade with all the castes and parties of of that debate. I do not assert that he has changed his pronounced in substance the whole affair to be a humbug, got up to excite the public mind here, and to foster the scheme of annexation. I do not mean to assert that I use his language when I say it was a humbug, but I believe I do no injustice upon, it should not be binding unless sanctioned by the treaty when I say it was a numbug, but I believe I do no injustice upon, it should not be binding unless sanctioned by the treaty making powers of the parties.

They were to meet, as was said, to commune, confer, and consult upon great questions relating to the advancement, such an act on the part of England. This belief, he gave us

plied with the request made to her, and her good offices and acts of interference have been very acceptable to these people. But yesterday (I speak it on the authority of the Senator from Michigan, who seems to have credited it) there was a rumor that no less than four companies of British troops have been marched to aid these Yucatanese. Now, sir, suppose we send a body of men there. Spain, England, and the United States will be there; and the sovereignty of the country is promised to each Power that renders aid. How will the question of a pyeriginty be settled, as each Power apparency. should be improved, to feel that she is the victim of ambition?
No, sir, the sword is the most dangerous of all ties of union; the disgrace belonging to defeat and subjugation is seldom effaced.

Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan is endeavoring to harmonize the ambitious love of conquest with the gentle spirit of a free Government, which aspires not to the glory of arms, but to the elevation and improvement of our race. Nothing can be more incompatible with the genius of free institutions than the interposition of military force. It has at all times been the deadly enemy of popular liberty. I say, therefore, that every proposal to extend our territory or principles by force is greatly to be deprecated. Whoever does it labors under a great mistake, if, as the friend of public liberty, he attempts to engraft upon us the feudal notion, the ancient moderation than I am prepared to concede to the present Administration. There must be imminent danger of conflict when three such Powers meet in pursuit of an object which but one can obtain. When we shall meet two of the old Powers of Europe under such circumstances; if the same ambitious desire of acquisition which influences us stimulates them, can the question which will arise be discussed, or the plunder be disposed of, without a rupture among the parties? If the doctrines of Mr. Monroe, as expounded by the President, are to be enforced as the established policy of the country, we shall be fortunate if we do not find ourselves arrayed in war against Mexico, England, and Spain. Why should be we rush into such folly, and disregard the manifold blessings. we rush into such folly, and disregard the manifold blessings which an indulgent Providence has in store for us? The Senator from Michigan would, say, perhaps, if in his seat, that this arrival of Spanish and British aid at Yucatan was the result of the action of the colonies of Cuba and Jamaica, and not direct assistance from those two great Powers themselves. But suppose Great British and Spains are there will be a not direct assistance from those two great Powers themselves. But suppose Great Britain and Spain—as they will do, I think—sanction the action of their colonies, as they have an undoubted right to do, because these troops are furnished on the assumption that their Governments will approve of the measure. If this should occur, then it behooves the Senate of the United States to consider what it does, when it proposes to send troops into Yucatan, and to reflect upon and weigh well the consequences that may probably result from such a well the consequences that may probably result from such a course of policy. It is hinted, and pretty broadly asserted, without any proof, however, that the English furnish these without any proof, however, that the English furnish these Indians with arms and ammunition, and that they are thus encouraging the rebellion. Now, this same commissioner who brings this case before us for consideration makes a very singular declaration in one of his despatches. He says that they (the Yucatanese) could easily and cheaply have bought the arms they wanted of the English at Belize, but they preferred to obtain them from the United States. According to this statement, then, sir, these very people who are said to be encouraging this rebellion by placing arms in the hands of the Indians to prosecute this war are at the same time willing to sell arms cheaply and freely to the other party. Could there be a more striking proof of the fact that all these statements about arms mean nothing more than that either of these parties who choose to purchase at Belize can do so if they have the means? If there were any such sinister purpose as has the means? If there were any such sinister purpose as has been suggested, if the English were anxious to strengthen and arm these Indians in order to overthrow or exterminate the whites, surely they would not be found selling arms and am-

munition to the very men whom they wished to put down.

The President of the United States, in his message to us adverting to the doctrine advanced in 1823 by Mr. Monroe, then the President of the United States, has taken occasion then the President of the United States, has taken occasion twice or three times, in the course of that message, to say that he considered this doctrine recognised by him in his annual message the year before last to be the established policy of the United States. He has not condescended to shadow forth the interpretation which in practice he would give to that potentially not to state he what says or emissions of this Government. helping the weaker party. Rome did that, sir, and it was a helping the weaker party. Rome did that, sir, and it was a favorite policy by which she overrun Asia, Africa, and Europe. Who does not know that a very large portion of the Roman Empire was annexed by this process? A party or faction, incapable of protecting itself, sent to her for assistance, offering, perhaps, the sovereignty as a consideration for her aid. Of course the aid was given, and the severeignty claimed as the reward, whether offered or not; and thus the declaration of Mr. Monroe, does not consider it to be the established policy of the country; but his whole argument is but a commentary carrying out this text. Mr. President, I claimed as the reward, whether offered or not; and thus kingdom after kingdom were brought into subjection to her power. England has spread her empire in the east by precisely the same process. The Senator from Michigan pertinently inquired when England puts her foot down in any place does she voluntarily take it away? I fear she has selded mid ever yielded territory which she thought to be useful to herself. When Rome interfered to aid a weaker faction, add dishe ever subsequently find a state of things existing which induced her to relinquish her misnamed protection? Never. If remonstrance was made, what was the answer? It was, that the condition of the people was improved, and Roman institutions were better than their own, and remonstrance was of in a wail. And what is the answer of England when response to the same tenor. We give you a better Government; you have greater security to your persons; larger liberty than before; what have you to complain of? That is the course of reasoning adopted, sir; and although it implies a violation of every principle of liberty, and an utter disregard of the opinions and happiness of others; yet, in ambitious minds, opinions and happiness of others; yet, in ambitious minds of the views of the President, I should be glad to notice in a suitable way this declaration, should be glad to notice in a suitable way this declaration, and the construction given to it, but I have not the power left which is requisite for that purpose. It must suffice for me to remark that it has become in the minds of such as adopt it an untority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggression or amulatority justifying any and all schemes of aggresi is but a commentary carrying out this text. Mr. President, I should be glad to notice in a suitable way this declaration, and buy conquer them to make acquisitions, have a monopoly, a patent right to this peculiar trade, and hold the right to re grant the sovereignty of the Belize to the English, but it gave world? But does it satisfy our own judgment? If we were but we alone have the right to purchase. If England enters the same course—with a declaration that our condition would and we, denying this right, meet her there, how is a rupture be improved. Of this we prefer to be our own judges to be avoided? If we stay away we may be content with a If we stay away we may be content w war of words, but if armed forces meet, and ours is, as it

policy ?
Mr. President, can any reasoning illustrate more satisfactorily, not only the folly but the peril of assuming toward others such a posture as the President assigns to us? No Administration, down to the present, ever thought of giving such a construction to this declaration. We have in no in-stance interfered with or objected to the arrangements of other

citizens at the Belize trade with all the castes and parties of Yucatan when they come there for that purpose. The whole proof of such interference in any form, upon analysis, dwindles into suggestions or insinuations which furnish no suitable evidence to influence our minds. Is it not worth while to stop and consider our past history, before proceeding further in our aggressive career upon mere idle rumor? What did the Senator from Texas tell you standing in his place the other day What was said to us a year sgo by gentlemen on the other side of the chamber? It was this, that although it was boldly asserted in messages sent to this body, and published officially through the country, that England would take possession of Texas if we omitted to do it; although it was so often reiterated, by authority and without authority, that the people began to believe it, yet the Senator, who from his official station could not be otherwise than well informed upon the subject, a pronounced in substance the whole affair to be a humbug, got up to excite the public mind here, and to foster the scheme of